THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

Vol. V.—No. 47 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15th, 1919 Price Twopence.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE SOVIET ARMY.

Decree concerning the Revolutionary Military Soviet, adopted unanimously at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets on October 2nd, 1918.

1. The Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, constitutes the organ of the supreme military power in the country.

All powers and means of the people are put at the disposal of the Revolutionary Military Soviet for the defence of the frontiers of the Soviet Republic.

All Soviet Institutions are under the obligation to consider and satisfy without delay the demands of the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic.

2. The Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic takes over all the rights of the College of the People's Commissariat for War, the members of which are incorporated in the Soviet.

3. All military institutions are subordinate to the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic and must work under its supervision.

The All-Russian General Staff, the Supply Department, the Military Legislative Soviet, the Military Inspection Department and other military institutions, are subordinate to the Revolutionary Military Soviet.

4. The People's Commissary for the Army and Navy is the president of the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic. The inter-relations between the president and the Soviet are similar to the inter-relations between the People's Commissary and the College of the People's Commissariat for War, as laid down by the Constitution of the Soviet Republic.

5. The Commander-in-Chief has full powers in all questions of a strategic character. All other orders, for which he is responsible, must be counter-signed by one of the members of the Revolutionary Military Soviet. In all other matters the Commander-in-chief enjoys the rights of a member of the College.

6. The members of the Revolutionary Soviet of the Republic attached to each separate army, form a link with headquarters, and fulfil the functions of observation and instruction. They do not directly interfere with the orders and arrangements of the commander, or of the military soviet of the particular army; but have the right, in extreme cases, to dismiss commanders and members of the local military council. Moreover, they have the right to issue orders of a local character, subject to their immediate notification to the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic.

7. In the event of a member of the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic being also a member of the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the army to which he is attached, his rights, as far as his work is concerned, are only those of a member of the said Soviet.

8. The election of the president of the Revolutionary Mi itary Soviet must be confirmed by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; and the election of the members of the Revolutionary Military Soviet, including the Commander-in-chief must be confirmed by the Soviet of People's Commissaries.

AFTER THE WAR.

Charles Willingale, a returned prisoner of war, spent the last £3 he had on a horse, which he bought at an auction sale, in order that he might earn a living for himself and family by carting and hawking green groceries. When too late he discovered that he had made a bad bargain; the horse was 23 years of age and only fit for the knacker's yard. Next day he went out to ply his trade but the horse collapsed and as a result he was charged with cruelty at Westminster Police Court. The magistrate said he would take the circumstances of the case into consideration and made the ex-soldier pay the costs.

But what could the poor fellow do? Workless in the country he worked for but of which he owns not a yard.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA.

Speech by Mr. Israel Zangwill at the Albert Hall, February 8th, 1919.

To avoid obtaining applause under false pretences, let me confess at once that I speak as a bourgeois with hard-earned savings and not as a Bolshevik. Bolshevik, I understand, means one of the majority, and that is, alas! a position I have never had the comfort to occupy. I speak from your platform because you have offered me it, and I would as cheerfully hold forth in the House of Lords if they gave me facilities. I do not belong to the Red Army, unless you will spell it "Read."

Do not despise that "Read" Army—Lenin himself compares newspapers to bombs and guns, and thought it so dangerous that no Government in the world dares leave it uncensored. Even he has suppressed the opposition press, I am sorry to say. But I was relieved to find the suppression described as a temporary and extraordinary measure till the new order was firmly in the saddle. But he would have done better to leave the press free, especially as the Russian masses cannot read.

It is *our* press that is Lenin's real danger. A Muscovite when he reads that the gutters of Moscow run blood, knows whether the blood is really there, or only invented by the gutter-journalists. But we over here in the fog of peace, can never be absolutely sure that our journals are lying. The other day, I saw an article headed "Russian Dangers." On looking more closely I saw it was only "Russian Dancers." But so hypnotised was my brain by the popular chorus: "Hush, hush, hush, here comes the Bolshevik," that I read it even into a eulogy of the only good thing now admitted to come out of Russia—its ballet.

What a difference from the beginning of the war! Then, when I read about Archangel, I thought it was the Czar. Those were the days of Stephen Graham and 'Holy Russia' and Russian Supplements of *The Times*. On the first anniversary of the war, Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador, emphasised on behalf of Czar and people "the hearty and constant union of views between Russia and Great Britain and the continued confidence and faith which each has in the other." In those days, for saying a word against Russia I was denounced as a pro-German. Now the danger is to say a word *for* Russia.

This is in one way a blessing: for now that Russia has taken the place of Germany as the enemy of the human race, now that Bolshevism is, in the language of Lord Denbigh, "a curse in comparison with which German militarism would have been a blessing," now that at Riga the Eighth German Army has actually co-operated with our troops against the Bolsheviks, there has been a relaxation in our iniquitous blockade against Germany. Just as the Bolsheviks, by undermining German *morale*, helped to save us from Prussian militarism, so they are now helping to save us from ourselves.

Moreover, they have so frightened Capital that everywhere wages are rising—even in the Army and Navy, hours of work are falling, and the Peace Conference is offering Labour an international charter. The fear of Bolshevism is the beginning of wisdom. Bolshevism may be a curse, but its evil is by no means unmixed.

But is Bolshevism a curse? Well, we must distinguish between Bolshevism in itself and the violence with which it has been established. As a conscientious objector to violence of every species, I do not believe that revolutions can be made only with blood, I believe they can be made with ink, or with electric light. But revolution with blood is not unknown even in English history and violence in Russia is not confined to the Bolsheviks. In recording the court-martialling and shooting of 117 Bolsheviks near Omsk, *The Times* remarked recently: "These prompt measures have made a good impression." But you cannot in the same breath praise violence and abuse it.

It is impossible to whitewash the Bolsheviks, but I have no doubt that the bloodiness of their régime has been as exaggerated as its bankruptcy. If the possessing classes in England were suddenly deprived by the masses of their lands and factories, and even turned out of their homes, I should not go to them for an impartial view of the situation, nor expect them to recognise that, once things had settled down, Britain as a whole might really be better off. When Mr. Lloyd George was denounced for "robbing hen-roosts," I did not accept that as a complete account of his politics. Lord Milner prates of "the unspeakable horrors of Bolshevik rule," but I was not so ready to believe all that the Boers said about his concentration camps. Quite a number of those murdered by the Bolsheviks seem to pop up again.

But when all is said, it is unquestionable that infinite injustice and brutality have marked the Bolshevik as every other revolution, including the revolution against the Czar, which the British Government endorsed. I do not doubt that the same Russian hooligans who carried out the brutalities of the army in Galicia, or the Jewish pogroms against which the British Government refused to intervene, profited by their new and rich opportunities to carry out those horrors against which the British Government has been so anxious to intervene: horrors which for the most part, indeed, were the very result of our intervention. Had we recognised Lenin's Government as we recognised Kerensky's, instead of trying both secretly and openly to subvert it, Bolshevism would have been comparatively bloodless. But it was forced to stand with its back to the wall against the whole world. This animal, as Buffon puts it, is very spiteful: when you attack it, it defends itself.

The latest excuse for intervention is that Bolshevism has replaced Prussianism in aggressive and invasive militarism. But, as the books of strategy teach, attack is often the best form of defence. In the classic language of Barney Barnato, when you see a man about to hit you, you hit him first. But Russia must be saved from the Bolsheviks, the defeated Russian parties tell us. "For reasons of high morality," cries M. Savinkoff, the head of the Omsk military mission to Paris, "it is an international duty to put an end to the odious massacres which mark the Red Terror." Who is this M. Savinkoff, this preacher of high morality, now in such high honour in Paris? The man who, according to his own 'Confessions,' recently published in Bourzeff's

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

There have been queues at Westminster; not for rationed quantities of coke but for the purpose of swearing.

Before the reader jumps to conclusions, it should be explained that it was a gala day. The Baggses and the Maggses and the Snaggses arrived, some with their coupons, and the most of them with their election promises. It was an imposing ceremony, and the Speaker, and the Black Rod, and the Gentleman Usher, and the Serjeant-at-arms, and the Mace were all there to impress the Ladies' Gallery with the Importance of Being Earnest.

Outside were some hundreds of thousands of strikers who were playing at the ancient game of being insulted by the Bellow Press. These shipyard workers, these railwaymen, these engineers had no sense of the Importance of Parliament. They spelt it "Impotence"; which is a way the working classes have of using the free education a kind-hearted capitalist Government made them absorb, willy-nilly.

It is the custom of the papers of the bourgeoisie to use choice gentlemanly language when writing of men on strike; *The Observer*, for instance, referred to them as "blackguards and shirkers." It will be noticed, however, that none of the brilliant and patriotic editors of these papers make a rush to fill the places vacated by the strikers—at the same pay and hours; an editor would feel less relish in handling a file, than in making his ink foam, most frothily, about the Russian and German gold behind these strikes.

But it is the privilege of editors to shed their ink gallantly in defence of their native land. They do not set up the type, or pull the proofs, or cast the plates for the machines. That is left to the workers who, in most cases, are trade-union men. The compositor does not trouble to doubt the truth of the matter he is told to set up for printing. A compositor's motto is: "follow copy"—and apparently the most absurd and insulting fables about his fellow workers on strike do not worry him. Yet the printers know the calumny of the Bellow Press so well, and they so clearly recognise the value of its bark, that in the last great printer's strike, they started a paper of their own to present the truth of their case. This was the original *Daily Herald*, and it proved such a success that it was continued after the strike, until the war changed it into a weekly.

In spite of this practical lesson, however, the compositors are still setting up the wildest stories about strikes, and the machine-minders are putting these stories into black and white, in order to create a "public indignation against the strikers." There is, I understand, what is called a "Labour Press Bureau," which sends out Labour news and views to Socialist and Labour papers. This is in opposition to that Suppression of the Truth Factory known as *The* Press Bureau.

Now, of course, it is one thing to be able to avoid preserved eggs thrown by an affectionate opponent, but the best policy is, of course, to cut off the said opponent's supply of bad eggs. The Labour Press Bureau issues contradictions of what the firm opposite issues; but give a lie a good start and half the game is won. The Labour Party and the Trade Unions who control and compose it, make no effort whatever to see that the "facts" of the official Press Bureau, or any Press agency, are sifted. The London Society of Compositors does not worry its head over the matter. Yet the paramount thing is to have a Labour censor, failing a daily press that represents all shades of the movement.

The Bellow Press is not the only menace to the working-class when they go on strike to wring concessions from M'. Boss. I read, for instance, that there are six tanks in Glasgow, and since then probably more have arrived. What I should like to know is *who* shipped those Tanks to Glasgow? *Who* delivered the goods?

There are thousands of soldiers there. Who entrained them there? Who drove the engines? Who turned out the rifles, the grenades, the bayonets? Who piled up the munitions? And *what for?*

These soldiers—who are they? Did they enlist to fight for the honour of the Clyde shipowners, the freedom of "loyal" workers, the rights of small profiteers?

The Clyde workers asked the Government to "intervene." The kind Government declined to do anything of the sort, so it said. The next day it sent troops, and tanks, and Lewis guns—and that wasn't intervention, if you understand.

The London Electricians wanted the Government to pass an Act establishing the 40-hour week. Instead the Government added still another section to Dora, whereby the electricians became liable to six months for leaving their jobs.

That shows how the Government loves the people. And that shows that the Government can only rule the workers by dividing them against each other. To drive the workers back, the Government sends working-class soldiers in trains driven by working-class railwaymen, and with these soldiers there go also a few wagons full of munitions turned out by still other workers. The Government has only to say the word, and the working classes begin to slaughter each other, just as much as if they were in Flanders.

Some of us cheered these soldiers when they went off to kill Germans in defence of liberty. Now these soldiers have come back to shoot us.

Some of us cheered the police when they went on strike. Now these police are prepared to batter our brains in when the Government gives the word.

When the Allied Command was going to make an attack on a big scale they did not give the Germans three days' ultimatum.

They did not send the infantry without artillery, or tanks, or aeroplanes. They used every available unit in the whole army in that attack.

They did not believe in small strikes, but in big strikes. They believed in the General Strike.

The workers' strikes are part of the class-war; but they are mere nibbles. The strikers' aims are part of Labour's aims; but they also are mere nibbles.

The one aim, the real aim, is the whole control of the nation, and the nation's means of existence by the whole nation.

The one means, the real means, is the General Strike.

Get on with it!

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND BOLSHEVIKS.

ANOTHER MR. DOOLEY EXPLAINS.

"What I think of the Peace Conference, Hinnissy, w'd surprise ye if I told ye. Mind ye, there's no har-rm in a Peace Conf'rence, ginerally spaking, providin' it confines its activities to subjecks within its own sphere, as *Th' Times* would say. Ye'd like to know what that manes? Well, it manes that they kin talk like the divvle on any subjeck undher th' sun which has no relation to Peace. Their businiss is to draw up programmes, and amendmints to th' programmes, and amendmints to th' amendmints to th' programmes. Thin they wrap them up in a couple of eddendas to th' last amendmint, draw up a revision, publish a summary, issue a blue book, and take away th' number they first thought of. That, Hinnissy, is a Peace Conf'rence. If ye want any more details, ye'll have to engage fifteen thousand newspaper reporthers, a couple o' million Pinkerton men, and three regimints of German spies. And I kin promise ye, Hinnissy, when this Peace Conf'rence has talked itself to slape and woke up wid a star-rt of joyous surprise to find sthray slices of th' German Empire in other, an' nobler, an' worthier hands; an' voted itself a vote of thanks for its untiring and devoted efforts on behalf of th' whole civilised wurruld, an' mar-rches out ar-rm in ar-rm to the tune of 'Welcome, Little Nations'—then, Hinnissy, there'll be such a bust-up as'd make ye're whiskers cur-rl if ye had any.

"I don't know," he continued, "if ye ive: heard of Bolshevism, but it is one of th' great problims of the Conf'rence. Bolshevism was invinted by some of th' most malignant an' sinisther an' traithorous inimies of th' British, French, German, Russian, Venezuelan, an' Shoreditch Empires. They'se also th' inimies of th' people an' the' press an' th' pulpit an' th' public house. They'se inimies of society, Lloyd George, an' th' Empror of Chiny, an' all th' noble institootions which a noble civilisation has institooted. What they don't know about opposition isn't in th' cookery books. They hold massyeres like ye'd hold a mother's meeting if ye was a par-rson, Hinnissy. An' no Bolshevist considers he has passed his fir-rst degree until he has spilled as much blood as would float a battleship, an' made as many corrupses as would sink it again.

"Well, these Bolshevists have the poor, misguided notion that theyse th' only hope of mankind an' a human patent medicine to cure all diseases from palm-itch to shareholders' meetings. They'se got th' idee to such an extent that they want the earth from th' Himilayas down to little Silver Street, where th' widdy Maloney carries on wid six childher an' an income of nothin' pound fifteen a week. And when they'se got their unholy hands on it—th' wurruld, I mane, they'se goin' to tur-rn it inside out, an' wash out all th' dirthy blood-spots off av it. An' natur'ly these blood spots will want a divvle of a wash.

"But they'se one thing, Hinnissy, I'd like to draw ye're attention to—an' if ye'll just compare th' wurruld to a dirthy shirt, ye'll follow me betther—th' Bolshevist says that seein' as he made th' shirt he's got to have th' handlin' of it. On the other hand, the man behind the gun—about fifty miles behind, Hinnissy—says th' Bolshevist can't wash it bekase he don't know how to man'ge a laundhry.

"That's logic, Hinnissy, but argymints usually keep logic on th' doormat. An' what does th' Bolshevist say? He says, says he, 'Me shirt might be dirthy but th' soap I'm goin' to use won't want much scrubbin' in, an' if th' soapsuds ain't to ye're taste, just wipe them out of ye're eye, an' if ye want to have a shirt washing competition I'll match me soap again yours, bekase,' says he, 'me soap is a new kind of soap invinted be me frind Karl Marx, an' vastly improved by subsequent exp'riment, an' none genuine without th' trade union label,' says he.

"An' th' man behind th' gun, who is open to any reasonable argyment, steps firmly on th' shir-rt an' wipes his feet on it, an' th' Bolshevist who appreciates th' logic of th' occasion lets fly wid a bit of his soap.

"An' the man behind th' gun, who is struck for-rcibly by th' Bolshevik argyment says, says he, 'I've reasoned wid ye, an' argued wid ye, an' talked kindly to ye. I've sacrificed some of th' finest blood of th' finest nation th' wurruld has ever seen. I've spint th' nation's money an' th' nation's young min like wather, an' this is ye're gratitude. Me hear-rt bleeds for th' ignorance of ye. But if ye won't do as ye're told by thim that a kind an' farseein' providence has place in authority over ye, thin ye're blood be upon ye're own head. Ye have put ye're hands where it hur-rts me most—on me own private prop-ty—an' it only remains for me to reluctantly draw th' sword wich I said would never be sheathed till th' Germans was cr-rushed. Afther all, royalty is royalty an' it has its privileges an ye cannot tie a Tsar in a chair an' prod him wid a bayonet, without raisin' th' blood in ivry dacent-minded subjeck. So forw'd wid me old an' trusty frinds Sazonoff, an' Miliukoff, an' Hindenburg, an' Erzberger, an' Prince Max o' Baden, to presarve th' ancient relics of our noble an' enlightened civilisation."

"An' what d'ye think th' Bolsheviks will do, Dooley?"

"If th' weather kapes fine," said Dooley, thoughtfully twisting a spill and lighting his pipe, "th' Bolsheviks will soon be ready hangin' out th' shir-rt to dhry."

H. F. M.

INDIAN NEWS.

The Conference of Indian ruling Princes and Chiefs at Delhi has passed a resolution expressing gratitude to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu for the solicitude shown in their report for the welfare of the ruling princes and chiefs and for safeguarding their welfare. We are glad that the Indian aristocrats have been too frank to pretend that the Montagu-Chelmsford report offers anything to the Indian masses. But we are even a little sceptical as to the advantages which the Indian aristocracy will derive from it. It appears to us that the report mainly consists of do-nothing platitudes.

IRELAND, MARX AND INTERNATIONALISM. By Capt. White.

There can be no internationalism except a league of governments against the peoples, until, in *each* country, government ceases to mean the administrative machinery of the masters over a wage-slave class. Hence, to quote Marx :—

"Though not the substance, yet the form of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, is national, at first. The proletariat of each country naturally must first settle accounts with its own bourgeoisie."

This is what is happening in Ireland, as illustrated by the complete loss of influence of the constitutional Nationalist Party, which represents bourgeois interests and ideals.

Connolly has shown us in 'Labour in Irish History' that in the struggle for freedom of an oppressed nationality, the employing and middle classes are forced, by the pressure of economic conditions, to make terms with the oppressor. Thus the onus of the struggle comes to be thrown more and more upon the most subject class, on whom a double toll is levied.

So long as the struggle remains political—that is, so long as the workers have not conceived the idea of their economic emancipation as a class—they make common cause with their own bourgeoisie against the oppressor nation. But once they become class conscious, their struggle for national independence assumes a totally different colour. Whereas formerly they supported their own masters at home to get rid of foreign dominance, it is now nothing but foreign dominance which enables their "masters" to disguise the true nature of the national struggle. Where would the constitutional Nationalists be to-morrow but for the fact that the British Government persists in regarding them as representative of the Irish people, and backs up their opponents while denying to the latter all opportunity to express Ireland's altered will? But the very arbitrary removal of the Sinn Fein leaders, the representatives of uncompromising Nationalism, by throwing the lead more on Irish labour can only result in exposing the identity of aim and interest between genuine Irish Nationalism and International Socialism.

If there is a difference between them, it is that Irishmen fight without talking for the objects about which the International Socialist is apt to talk without fighting. I believe it is time to exchange roles, or at least for the English proletariat to act with more firmness, whilst Irishmen, without evacuating a trench or removing a sentry, devote all the energy they can to explaining their national position in international terms.

Sinn Fein is accused of a policy of isolation. So far as there is any truth in the charge, its object is to isolate Ireland from foreign domination and infection, in order the more easily to eradicate some disease which it believes to have been introduced from outside into the national life. The back-veldt type of Sinn Feiner, to borrow an expression from South Africa, attributes this disease to British influence and leaves it at that. The back-veldt Sinn Feiner is right, only his diagnosis does not go deep enough to effect a cure.

It was unquestionably British influence which destroyed the Irish clan system, and replaced it by a feudalism which has developed into world-wide capitalism. But since the disease has become world-wide, the cure must be world-wide too. The great and growing influence of Labour in Irish revolutionary nationalism is the best guarantee that an international cure will be applied.

Sinn Fein stands for the protest of Ireland against capitalistic internationalism; Labour, for Ireland's entry, as an organic unit, into International Socialism. Each comes daily to understand and respect more fully the function of the other.

How is it that even Irish Labour, not to mention Sinn Fein, stands somewhat aloof from English Labour, even from that section of it which professes sympathy for Irish independence? The plain truth is that Ireland has learnt by centuries of bitter experience to judge by deeds, not words. There is an old Gaelic proverb which warns us to beware of three things: "The horns of a bull, the heels of a horse, and the smile of an Englishman." Though Irishmen do not fear treachery behind the smile of English Labour, they are apt to be contemptuous of the smiles of those who show so little power to win respect for their frowns. Nor is it easy for them to be conscious at a distance of the number and strength of the elements, which some day in Britain, will give cohesion and driving force to the invertebrate mass.

Ireland has realised the place of Labour in Irish history; it is for the British proletariat to recognise the place of Ireland in Labour history. A subject and industrially-depressed Ireland has meant in the past a constant source of cheap labour at the disposal of the master class. Capitalism cannot afford the conversion of its casual labourers into the backbone of an Irish Republic. That is why it is worth while to the British Government to suppress genuine Irish freedom at all costs, even at serious risk to itself. And for the same reason, it is not only worth while to the British workers, but the first essential of their own emancipation, to realise that British rule in Ireland is the corner stone of their own house of bondage.

On this point hear Karl Marx, who wrote to a friend as long ago as 1869 :—

"I have more and more arrived at the conviction, though this conviction has not entered the mind of the English working class, that we shall never be able to do anything decisive in England, if we do not resolutely separate our policy, in all that concerns Ireland, from the policy of the dominant classes, so that not only will we be able to make common cause with Ireland but even take the initiative in dissolving the union of 1800....and this aim should be followed, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland, but as a necessity based on the interests of the English proletariat.....

"The first condition of emancipation in this country—the overthrow of the English moneyed oligarchy—remains impossible, for the position cannot be raised much while the oligarchy retains strongly fortified advance posts in Ireland. But there as soon as the matter is placed in the hands of the Irish people, so soon will the latter become its own legislator and governor and the downfall of the English moneyed aristocracy, in great part the same people as the Irish landlords, will become infinitely more easy than here in England, for the reason that in Ireland, it is not only an economic, but a national question, because the landlords are not, as in England, the traditional dignitaries and representatives, but the oppressors of a nationality which they mortally hate.

"But as, on the other hand, it is the English working class who will incontestably throw the decisive weight in the balance of social emancipation, it is they who must act as the lever."

MRS. GRUNDY AT THE WAR OFFICE.

The War Office has been apt to show a desire to constitute itself a censor of morals where separation allowances and pensions are concerned. When the war began and for some time after, it refused to pay separation allowances to unmarried wives and their children, even though the soldier, called to the colours whether he would or no, had loyally fulfilled his natural responsibilities towards his children and their mother for many years without the compulsion of the law. The pressure of public opinion at last procured separation allowance for the unmarried wife and her children, provided the soldier lived with them and maintained them prior to mobilisation.

But the War Office is loth to relinquish its old post of moral censor: "Mrs. Grundy" is still strongly established there, and so in the person of a man investigator she goes round to the homes of unmarried wives and probes very carefully into their position.

Mrs. A. of West Ham and her ten year old child lived happily with her "husband" for six years till 1916, when he was conscribed. When he made her an allotment and applied for separation allowance on her behalf, an Old Age Pension Officer called on her and asked her under what conditons she was living with the soldier. Mrs. A. half afraid, half offended by such intimate inquiries, not knowing the state of the law, she is said to have replied that she was the soldier's housekeeper. Probably she was incoherent. She meant to explain that she was entirely dependent on the soldier. She probably tried to say that he was her husband and as dear to her as any other woman's husband. She called in a woman living in the same house to corroborate her statements, but both women were suspicious, and no doubt incoherent. The pension officer reported that Mrs A. had not said she was the soldier's unmarried wife and the separation allowance was therefore refused. No one disputes that Mrs. A. was the unmarried wife of the soldier; both the soldier and Mrs. A. insist that it is so and those who live in the same house corroborate the statement. But because Mrs. A. is said to have said she was the soldier's housekeeper and is said to have refused to claim separation allowance which she denies, the separation allowance is being refused, though many appeals have been made on Mrs. A.'s behalf.

A Canadian soldier, his unmarried wife, and their 14 year old child came over to this country together in 1915, in order that wife and child might be as near to him as possible when he went to France. In August, 1918, the soldier was killed. The widow is ill, she wishes to return to her home and friends in Canada, but she has no money to pay her passage back to Canada. The authorities at first refused to pay the passages of soldiers' and sailors' wives back to Canada, but are now doing so. But this particular soldier's widow was not legally married. Therefore the authorities refuse to help her.

THE CHARGES AGAINST KIRKWOOD AND GALLACHER.

The authorities who are prosecuting Kirkwood and Gallacher for incitement were glad to allow them to speak to the crowd after their arrest and to appeal to the people to go quietly away.

THE FRENCH STRIKE.

The French Government is taking a high hand with the French transport workers. Whilst the 'bus and tube workers' demands remain in the hands of negotiators the workers of the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean Railway, who have long tried in vain to secure improvements, decided to show their solidarity and power by a demonstration strike. Therefore it was arranged that on January 25th at 3 o'clock the mechanics should stop work for one minute, some of the workers for a quarter of an hour, and others for one hour. Almost every employee responded, including non-unionists and Americans. The public did not observe the strike but the company was fully aware of it, and in Clemenceau, "the tiger," as he is called in France, they found ready aid. Midol, the Secretary of the Railway Workers' Union, and other comrades were arrested the same night. Colonel de Charentenay, commanding the subcommittee of the line, replied to inquiries that Midol was arrested as a very dangerous trade unionist. On Sunday Midol was taken to Bourges in a motor car, as no railwayman would have driven him there by train. Great excitement has arisen amongst the railwaymen Clemenceau has promised that "all claims will be examined in a friendly spirit," and no action taken against the demonstration strikers, but Midol is kept in prison and the proceedings against him cannot be stopped.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation

Telephone: EAST 1787.

Annual Subscription - Post Free, 10s. 10d.

Back Numbers, 4½d, post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3

All business communications to the MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Vol. V., No. 47. Sat., February 15th, 1919.

THE STRUGGLE.

At the London shop stewards' meetings men met with haggard faces. They were weary with tramping from shop to shop in the biting cold and sleet, through the much trodden snow and half frozen mud. The weather conditions oppressed them, because their reports were dismal. The workers in the engineering and the allied trade workshops were solid enough in their desires, but they saw before them the spectre of victimisation, of long unemployment, long weary tramping in search of work in this most blighting weather, knowing the bosses sternly prepared to wait through the trade slump to bide their time till the beaten men should come to them, begging for work on any terms. Seeing these things, the workers flinched from their stand and wavered in fear.

If the electricians would but come out and stop the machinery, so all work must cease automatically! That was the general hope. But the Government had threatened the electricians with the Defence of the Realm Act. The Government has declared its refusal not to intervene in the dispute between the workers and the employers. It has not intervened; it has ranged itself solidly on the side of the employers. To Glasgow it sent tanks. It has used the Defence of the Realm Act (the act ostensibly passed to preserve Britain from invasion, to preserve the prerogatives of British capital from invasion by the workers). Here is the regulation brought out to crush the strike:—

"43C. With a view to affording to the public similar protection in relation to the supply of electricity to that conferred in relation to the supply of gas and water by Section 4 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, the following provision shall have effect:—

"'Where a person employed by a Government Department, or by a municipal authority, or by any company or contractor upon whom is imposed by Act of Parliament the duty, or who have otherwise assumed the duty, of supplying any city, borough, town, or place, or any part thereof, with electricity, wilfully and maliciously breaks a contract of service with that Department, authority company, or contractor, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that a probable consequence of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to deprive the inhabitants of that city, borough, town, place, or part, wholly or to a great extent of their supply of electricity, he shall be guilty of a summary offence against these regulations.'

"Any person guilty of an offence against this regulation is liable to six months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, or to a fine of £100, or to both such imprisonment and fine.

"Any person who attempts to commit or solicits or incites or endeavours to persuade another person to commit such an offence or procures, aids or abets, or does any act preparatory to the commission of such an offence is liable to like penalties."

Webb and Muir at the E.T.U. offices, men in imminent danger of arrest, were undaunted by the proclamation; but would the men in the power stations remain firm? Would the men of superior education who are in controlling positions remain solidly allied with the workers? Would they face imprisonment from which only the complete solidarity of the workers could possibly save them?

At twelve o'clock the engineers were to strike: at six the electricians: a poor arrangement. A united move would have been easier to make.

"Wait for the miners"; "Wait for the transport workers," all the more cautious elements gave counsel, but the miners and transport workers were and are, still negotiating. Therefore the Clyde and Belfast were still left unsupported, and the London general strike hung fire.

The Underground Railway workers struck under an intolerable sense of grievance. Not a forty hour week, but a forty-eight hour week was recently assured to them, and it was expressly stated in the agreement that the usual practices in regard to meal hours should be adhered to under the eight hour day. Nevertheless the London railway workers found their meal times abolished. Were they expected to work eight hours at a stretch without food? Was this cruelly absurd order intended as a punishment for securing an eight hour day?

The railway workers struck but the 'buses were still running. The 'busmen and women were undermining the position of the railway workers, just as were those who drove the blackleg army motors. The 'bus workers are on duty for appallingly long hours, often from 7 A.M. to 11 P.M., with a two hours' break, which, of course, is of much less value to them than half-an-hour's break and an hour-and-a-half knocked off the end of the day. If the 'bus men and women had come out with the railway workers, they would easily have won a shorter day for themselves. As it is they have so far acted the part of blacklegs, and many of them have bitterly regretted their position.

"If I were not working late I would go to my branch meeting and get them to come out."

"We ought to be out with the rest instead of blacklegging here."

Such sayings were common amongst the conductors.

"We came out for the equal pay, but the fight for shorter hours to make room for the unemployed is the men's fight. We will support them if they come out, but we shall be dismissed altogether if we start the strike."

So said a woman 'bus conductor. But the women, the newcomers, should feel that the chivalry and comradeship of labour lays on them a special duty, to insist that the original workers shall not be crushed out on their account. Since the reduction of hours will ease the question of unemployment, it has what should be an irresistible claim on their support.

The Underground railways were on strike: Londoners fought for a place on the 'buses, trudged home in the rain, and made their way by unaccustomed routes. Some of the city men, commercial travellers, heads of departments, and employers loudly denounced the "swine," who dared to inconvenience them. In the first class carriages of suburban trains, the accustomed occupants viewed, with disgusted annoyance, the third-class passengers, who crowded in, standing crushed up against the knees of the great, and swaying over them, almost falling upon them, as the train lurched. "They'll only be wanting to work one hour a day next," they complained, and the angry protests of the great were weakly assented to by the small.

Demobilised soldiers were impatient at finding their journey home thus retarded. "Let them go out there: let them have a dose of it in the trenches!" "They've been taking the big shilling while we've been fighting." They would have had a touch of cold steel if they hadn't brought the train up for us this morning." So grumbled some of those who were noisily talkative. Perhaps the men who were silent saw the position more clearly. Most of the men released because they had definite work to go to have now been demobilised. The men who are returning now may probably soon be spurred by unemployment into the loudest clamour, the most desperate action for the reduction of hours.

Whilst the workers struck, the negotiators were busy. Bromley of the Enginemen's Union accepted by way of compromise, a proposal that though meal times should not be allowed during the eight hours, reasonable facilities for taking meals should be allowed. This was rejected by the N.U.R. Executive, because Bromley had accepted it, but the N.U.R. agreed to a slightly different proposal, the workers have accepted neither proposal. They want nothing less than the original agreement and they look with favour on the Clyde demand for a 40 hour week. The trains are again running. J. H. Thomas returning from France to secure this result has thrown his force into the effort to get the workers back to their daily grind and to damp down their unrest.

The Trade Union Executives seem as much afraid of the Labour unrest as the capitalists themselves. The A.S.E. has dismissed the London, Glasgow, and Clyde District Committees, and has even given the family of Harry Hopkins, the Glasgow secretary who has been arrested, notice to quit their home, which happens to be the property of the Executive—a peculiarly cruel act! Sam Bradley, the London District Secretary, and others who have been dismissed, actually opposed rank and file action and only accepted the strike when it was forced upon them by the majority vote. The A.S.E. Executive, in taking sides with the employers against the workers in this strike, is making a bold bid for absolute authority.

They have adopted a terrible policy; a policy of absolute materialism. They probably refuse to think the position out for themselves squarely, but however much they may shrink from recognising it, it is this: the Trade Union officials have been emancipated from the workshops by their work mates, who are now struggling to raise themselves from oppression, not individually each man for himself, but as a class. The Trade Union officials are comfortably moving upward in the social scale, both individually, and as a class. They are found useful as pacifiers of Labour, and for this service to capital, capitalist Governments reward them. The present Social Order maintains these officials in assured, and, by contrast with their former state, in luxurious positions. Labour threatens now an upheaval, in which their world of to-day will be overturned. To side with Labour might mean imprisonment, as it has done to Kirkwood, Hopkins and others, beside all sorts of losses and discomforts. They do not believe very much in the Socialist Revolution, and if it come, as it came in Russia, it will certainly bring danger and hard living to those who take part in the early stages of the struggle. If the Revolution succeed, no one can foretell what his particular position under it may be; if it fail, those who have been prominent in it will be sacrificed. Therefore, material interest ranges the Trade Union officials on the side of capitalism. When they work to palliate its rigours, they do so with the smug sense that they are working unselfishly for the working class to which they no more belong. Now that the workers demand a serious attack on capital, the instinct of self-preservation has ranged the officials against them. But the officials who attack the workers are playing with fire. To the idealist it is depressing to find the law of materialism working so accurately, leaving scarcely an exception to its rule, in the shape of a Trade Union official who has not become a part of the middle class, who does not regard the workers, and act towards them, as though their interests were antagonistic to his own.

The workers, in their struggle, are surrounded as with a ring of steel, cold and merciless as the winter. All the forces of comfort and middle-class respectability are arrayed against them. The Press reported, with circumstantial detail, that some of the Port of London shipyard workers had returned to work, that work was restarted in four yards, and so on. The strikers were still solid, still bearing the pinch in silence, still steeling themselves not to believe such disquieting stories. The government has displayed the force at its disposal; the employers await events; their larders are full; their fires burn merrily; they can afford to wait whilst the people starve.

The soldiers and workers, too, are discontented; they, too, are held in the vice. Kept hanging about day after day, when they

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THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

This Conference is by no means a Bolshevik Conference; it is mainly a Conference of Reformists who may believe in Socialism, but will not work for it directly in our time. Gompers, Russel, and Walling have declared against the Conference, because it contains representatives from Germany and Austria, and because they say one-third of it consists of persons holding Bolshevik views. Henderson and Branting (and we are surprised that Branting shows no greater breadth of view) have issued a counter declaration insisting that so far from there being Bolshevists in the Conference, the Bolshevists everywhere have opposed it, and several of the delegates are Russian Socialists who have been driven out of Russia by the Bolshevists. The Conference has really disgraced itself by passing a resolution condemning the world's first Socialist government.

How terrified some people are of being thought to have taken sides with the workers against the established order of Capitalist Society!

The proceedings of the Conference, as reported in the Press telegrams, read like those of a League of young Liberals. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald stated that British Labour favours Home Rule for Ireland, India and Egypt. Cathal O'Shannon said the Irish do not want Home Rule within the British Empire. Mr. MacDonald further said the German colonies should be under a system of international control and administered with regard to the wishes of the natives themselves. Representatives of other nations are sure to ask as Ebert does: "Why not the British colonies also?" If there are any Socialists in the Conference they will doubtless observe that since in no country does a Capitalist government administer affairs according to the wishes of the workers, it were folly to expect a Capitalist League of nations, or mandatory of the League of nations to administer a colony according to the wishes of the natives.

On the question of the International Charter of Labour Legislation (a highly dangerous proposition in the hands of an Internationalist Capitalist League) the Press reports some disagreement; but only on details, it would appear, not on the fundamental principle.

Mr. Shirkie made the guileless statement that the British Government desired the assistance of Labour in working out machinery for the international Labour legislation. The points resolved on by the conference include:—

Child Labour.

No child labour under 15 years. In Bolshevist Russia after the year 1920 no one under 20 years may be employed for hire.

Hours of Labour.

Men over 18 to work 48 hours per week.

Children from 15 to 18 years, 6 hours per day and two hours education. It is not stated whether or not educational classes are to be included in the 6 hours work.

Women 4 hours a day! Strange that women should be held less capable of working than children. Do children include girls?

A number of minor improvements are suggested, including the obligation by employers to supply automatic couplings on the railways, to come into force within five years. This after a world war and with rumblings of revolution! Lloyd George himself might surely have displayed more imagination.

The Strike.

The Conference asks for the specific right to strike on questions affecting wages and working conditions. Why not any question? The proviso suggests the sinister possibility that the Labour Leaders are prepared to agree to international and national legislation to make striking illegal under certain conditions. It is really monstrous that the men who are refusing to the actual workers on strike the money which the workers have provided to help them at such times, should be proposing to co-operate with the Government in legislation concerning strikes.

The German and Danish delegates agreed that a plebiscite should decide the fate of Schleswig, and the German and French delegates agreed that the question of Alsace-Lorraine should be decided in the same way. Some common sense is finding its way into the conference after all, but it cannot be called a Socialist conference.

Another Conference.

The Swiss Socialist Party refuses to take part in this so-called International Socialist Congress and is calling another.

THE STRUGGLE.

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might have been allowed to be at home: then given one day's leave; they demanded seven. They actually went to the War Office, and, resenting the usual official insolence with which complaints are treated, they demanded attention and sang: "We're here because we're here." The War Office complains that they made a "noisy demonstration." The Governments of the world made a noisier demonstration when they started the war in which these men were conscribed. Troops were sent to surround the demonstrators with bayonets and to march them to Wellington Barracks. Says the War Office:—

"Nine men who were guilty as ringleaders of insubordination and disorderly conduct were arrested, and the names of all the others were taken and will be communicated to General Headquarters in France."

Force conquered. It seems that the workers and soldiers are beating themselves in vain against an unyielding wall of steel. But it is not so: the workers themselves are their own gaolers, and when they have learnt the lesson of solidarity, they will set each other free. Presently we shall strike, not for 15*s.* a week, for 40 hours, for a week's leave, or some other minor thing, but for the Socialist Republic. Then we shall not only strike but take possession.

Whether the strikers at this juncture win the 40 hours week or not, they have stirred the workers of Britain to new energy. The news of their struggle will reach the workers of the world. The capitalists know this and are anxious. Hence the reference to reduced hours in the King's Speech.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE CLYDE STRIKE.

Another arrest has been made in the person of Harry Hopkins, the suspended District Secretary of the A.S.E. His arrest followed an order from the A.S.E. Executive for him to vacate his house as from the end of this month—his house being on the top flat of the A.S.E. premises. The fact that there is not an unlet house in Glasgow did not seem to be taken into account by the Executive when making this order.

The other arrested leaders—Messrs. Gallacher, Kirkwood, and Shinwell—were again brought before the magistrate on Thursday and were formally remitted to the High Court. Both Gallacher and Shinwell made strong protest against their treatment whilst in prison. Each, since his imprisonment, has only been allowed a half-hour interview with his wife, and through a double grating at that.

Their remit to the High Court is an attempt of the authorities to give their "crime" a more serious aspect, and if followed by a brutal sentence should do much to open the eyes of those workers who have not yet awakened to their duty.

Six of the unions involved in the strike are paying strike benefit, and arrangements are being made to raise funds on a national scale to assist the families of strikers, and those in urgent need will be advised when to apply for relief from the District Committees.

The Glasgow Bakers are deciding to-day on the 40-hour question, but at the time of writing their decision is not known. If they do come out their 40-hour week is accomplished.

The local press is, of course, devoting its "leaders" to an attempt to coerce the men back to work; but, despite all, the movement is still solid. A little patience and courage and we are bound to win.

The Glasgow and the West of Scotland District Councils of the National Union of Railwaymen have to-day formed themselves into a Strike Committee. Unfortunately, this move is not directly in favour of the 40-hour movement, but in readiness to take action if their demands regarding an 8-hour day, from signing on to signing off, in the case of those railwaymen who have no allotted hours for meals, are not conceded. As the Railway Executive are openly determined to resist this demand there is a probability of important developments in this branch of essential services. ALEC. SUTHERLAND CAMPBELL.

THE STRIKE FOR 40 HOURS AND ——? SCOTLAND.

The Clyde movement for a 40-hour week is gradually extending all over Scotland. Here is a list, which is constantly being added to, of some of the trades and districts to which the strike extended:—

Glasgow	Govan
Cathcart	Parkhead
Springburn	Gorbals
Maryhill	Clydebank
Paisley	Partick and Whitehead
St. Rollox	Polmadie
Glasgow Central	Plantation & Tradeston
Anderston	Bridgeton
Cambuslang	Kilsyth & Kirkintilloch
Port Glasgow	Whiteinch
Shettleston	Blantyre
Rutherglen	The Forth Area
Rosyth Dockyard	Grangemouth
Perth	Edinburgh
Dumbarton	Greenock
Gourock	Leith
Dumfermline	Barrow in Furness
Kilbirnie	Coplawhill
Coalburn	Ballieston
Uddingston	Belshill
Shotts Miners	Burnbank
Renfrew	Hamilton
Alexandria	Bo'ness
Bathgate	Dumfries

Machine Workers.
Flour Millers.
Bakers.
Municipal Employees.
Joiners and Carpenters.
Brass Moulders.
Iron Moulders.
Electricians.
Iron and Steel Dressers.
Pattern Makers.
Sheet Iron Workers.
Boiler Makers.
Fitters.
Moulders.
Platers.
Riveters.
Tinsmiths.
Motor Builders.
Bricklayers and other Builders.
Wagon Builders.
Shipyard Workers.
Railway Workshop Employees.
Gas Workers.
Engineers.
Paper Workers.
Miners.

The Conference of the Scottish Trade Union Officials and Delegates, which met in Glasgow on February 1st, adopted the following resolution by 92 votes against 22:—

"That, having heard the report of the Parliamentary Committee with regard to the establishment of the Joint Committee and the events leading up to the agitation for a General Strike, the Conference endorses the action of the Parliamentary Committee, and recommends that its affiliated bodies do whatever is possible to make the movement a complete success; and, recognising the great volume of opinion in favour of a 40 hours' week, urges all Executive Committees to take such steps as will support the present strike, and calls upon the Government to take such measures as are necessary to have a 40 hours' week established by legislative enactment."

The employers have opened the works' gates, but the workers do not enter. The Cattle Market has been turned into a military camp. Six tanks are stationed there.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN GLASGOW.

The Unemployment Exchange reported 29,465 persons unemployed in Glasgow on January 24th, three days before the strike. Huge numbers of men daily returning from the Army are adding to this number. Hence the enthusiasm for reducing the hours of labour to 40, in order to absorb the unemployed.

THE FORTH STRIKE.

The Forth Area is solid for the 40-hour strike. Eighteen electricians, all ex-soldiers, were dismissed from Donibristle Aerodrome for refusing to blackleg. One was a sergeant with the Mons ribbon, another had a medal for bravery in the field.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA
continued from front page.

organ *Biloie*, was, together with the *provocateur* Aseff, at the head of the Terrorist branch of the Social Revolutionaries; the man who, though at one with Lenin in his land policy, would have none of Lenin's constitutional methods; the man who in 1908 took part in an attempt to assassinate the Czar, and who actually handed the bomb which killed the Grand Duke Sergius. This is indeed an example of Satan rebuking sin.

As for the Great Powers that M. Savinkoff exhorts to intervene against Bolshevist violence, why even the greatest and noblest of them, President Wilson, has preached: "Force, force without stint, force to the utmost limit." Though he now sits high on the fence, smiling like Sunny Jim, force is the food that raised up him. When I last stood on this platform, nearly two years ago, it was to complain that a mass of men just about equal to the audience in this vast hall was being murdered and mutilated every day, and that this incredible Red Terror had been going on for nigh a thousand days. Nevertheless it went on for another five hundred days, and Lord Curzon has regretted it did not go on a little longer. Those who objected to taking a hand in it were put away and tortured like John Maclean. Therefore, pacifist though I am, I feel that when the Allies presume to lecture Trotski and Lenin, these men are entitled to reply: "Mind your own bloody business."

The truth is we wanted more bloodshed, not less, and if the Bolsheviks instead of nobly proposing an all-round peace with "no annexations, no indemnities," had continued the war, we should have swallowed our objections to their doctrine, and even if to raise the sinews of war they had expropriated every rouble in Russia, we should have applauded the patriotic dictation of the proletariat. The Peace Conference, which is now pulling the leg of nations, the Peace Conference with its President whose nickname of the Tiger preserves the law of the jungle, would have welcomed Lenin and Trotski to its table. Now they are told to go to Prinkipo.

We must do Lloyd George the justice to admit it was not he who wanted them to wait on the mat. Perhaps he has had his lesson. 'Through Terror to Triumph' was the name of a collection of his speeches. Perhaps he has come now 'Through Triumph to Terror.' For the Knock-out Blow he insisted on has been given—but by Russia. Whoever meddles with Russia seems to catch a Tartar. Russia baffled Napoleon by a new tactic and she may yet baffle Foch. For she has transformed the strife of nations into a conflict of classes and the war that was won horizontally may be lost perpendicularly.

The whole social order is rocking from China to Peru. But if our politicians didn't want the world's foundations to shake, why did they stake all its fortunes on the Knock-out Blow? They knew how the Napoleonic wars had left all Europe rumbling with revolution. Why did they gag and blind us, stifle every gleam of reason and every impulse of humanity, set black and yellow against white, refusing to look beyond the murderous moment, abandoning the planet for five years to blood-lust, frenzy, and famine?

Victory covers a multitude of sins, but it cannot avert their consequences. You cannot sow the wind and reap the doldrums. Bolshevism followed as naturally from that saturnalia of savagery and that agony of starvation as the Black Death, camouflaged as Spanish influenza, rose from the myriads of putrefying corpses. "Comrades," cried a simple Russian soldier back from the front, "I bring you greetings from the spot where men are digging their own graves and call them trenches." The Russian soldiers wanted peace, the peasants land, the citizens bread. It was an irresistible triad.

I regret their methods. I would not have raised a finger to help them. But now that they have helped themselves I would not undo their work. That would be a waste of the blood already shed, the destruction of a precious social experiment, an experiment moreover made not upon us but on the vile body of Russia. Bolshevism must be let alone. If it is a curse let it go home to roost. If it is a blessing, let the whole world enjoy it. If Trotski is a greater tyrant than the Czar, let him meet a similar doom; if Lenin is worse than Wilhelm, let the Russians deport him.

If, as Sasonoff tells us, all the shops of Moscow are empty and all the prisons full; if the peasants complain they are worse off under the tyranny of the committees than under the single employer of yore; if, as the Swiss pamphleteers inform us, Bolshevism has meant the blind destruction of forests, crops, raw materials, and a calamitous exodus from the cities; if under the Soviets Russia is without bread, commerce, manufactures, or freedom, what an invaluable lesson for other would-be Bolsheviks!

Why intervene to destroy what is destroying itself? Why, like Gilbert's Mikado, make suicide a capital offence? To destroy Bolshevism from without would only destroy the value of this awful warning. For Bolsheviks would then always say it died of violence, not of its own rottenness.

As it is, they say it has not had a fair chance, that the experiment was made in a country already ruined by the capitalists and their war, a famished country, a country now isolated politically and boycotted economically. They say it was not Bolshevism that brought the bankruptcy of Russia, but the bankruptcy of Russia that brought Bolshevism. And as a matter of fact what is the use of pointing to Russia's disorganisation and destitution? The whole Continent groaneth and travaileth. You cannot spend £40,000,000,000 to destroy another £40,000,000,000, and denude Europe of ten million able-bodied producers and then have peace and plenty.

According to Gorki, whose slow conversion to Bolshevism makes his evidence all the more valuable, Bolshevism is not the scourge it first seemed, but a sincere striving for "the freedom and beauty of life." And so it is. Who can object to a Constitution, one of whose first articles declares that "He who will not work shall not eat"? True, there seems a somewhat crude interpretation of work. I have spent weeks of study to find out the truth about Bolshevism. Is not that work—and useful work?

The Bolsheviks, it appears, set artists to clean out lavatories: still we sent Epstein to the trenches. They despise professors and set up street universities in the shape of posters of information. A crazy idea! say the critics. I am inclined to think it an improvement on the posters of our picture palaces.

I am far from supposing Bolshevism was born perfect; in fact, it is still in travail, a revolution still in evolution, a birth that is half an abortion, a chaos of capitalism and socialism, of idealism and materialism, of wisdom and folly. But the same study that convinces me of its crudities and cruelties convinces me also that by its heroic attempt to make bread and education as common as air, by its aspiration for a world brotherhood and a world peace, by its repudiation of the imperialism that is based on the exploitation of coloured races, by its grand gesture of restoring to China and Persia the territories grabbed by the old Russia, it is the first attempt in history to create a model Commonwealth.

It is true that in attempting to set up by force this kingdom of peace and goodwill, Bolshevism has fallen into the paradox of all military crusades. It is true that to destroy poverty it has ruthlessly impoverished the rich. But just as after five years of world slaughter my dulled nerves can no longer be shocked by Bolshevik bloodshed, so after my own Government has taken annually a fourth of my income, forcibly borrowed my stocks, commandeered without compensation hotels in which I might have had a share, threatened through Bonar Law a levy on my capital, nationalised railways and shipping, and told me through Mr. Winston Churchill that the achievements of the Ministry of Munitions constitute the greatest argument for State Socialism that has ever been produced, I cannot pump up any horror at a Government which goes a little further and demands to utilise for life and construction, the forces we have devoted so successfully to destruction and death.

The British Government is only Bolshevism in embryo, and Bolshevism is only Socialism in a hurry, Socialism while you won't wait. America, going one better, has Bolshevised the drink trade at one blow. It is a recognition that not property but society is sacred.

Fun has been made of the unceasing flow of Bolshevist decrees, but can they compare with the innumerable progeny of D.O.R.A. who had the indecent fertility of a cod-fish, and is still spawning? My refugee Russian friends try to make my flesh creep by telling me what "the dictation of the proletariat" will be like. But I say, my dear friends, as a freelance I shall assuredly not relish it. But I am broken in. I have lived under the British War Government, subject to provisional arrest without reason given; subject, had I been a C.O., to court-martial five times over for the same offence; my correspondence censored, articles and plays of mine forbidden, my journeys impeded by procrastinated passports, or even liable to prohibition by the Soviet of Sailors headed by Mr. Havelock Wilson.

That Soviet now presumes to threaten the Peace Conference itself, if any food is shipped to enemy countries against its views. But the Government cannot tolerate lawlessness when that happens to be on its side, and exclaim against anarchy when the forces it has unloosed turn against it. And now that a Soviet of dockers in Bristol has retorted in kind by refusing to load up munitions destined for use against Russia, perhaps the Government may perceive that two can play at that game.

But, plead the interventionists, we do not propose to undo the main work of Bolshevism. We know the peasants will never give back the land nor take back a Czar. Only the Black Hundreds still hope for that. And these do not demand Allied help, for they fear the Peace Conference would not give them the Russia they want. That is the most flattering thing I have yet heard about the Peace Conference. But if Bolshevism is thus admitted to be so largely sound and irrevocable, the case for intervention becomes still weaker.

Milner pretends we must remain in Russia to protect those who fought on our side. As if the Bolsheviks would be so foolish as to refuse them an amnesty, if we consented to clear out! The only plausible plea for intervention put forward in any respectable quarter is *The New Europe's* plea that the Peace Conference would be false to its function if it left so large an area of the world a prey to chaos and disorder. But is Paris itself so free from unrest, Paris where prices go up daily and soldiers are forbidden to enter for fear of riots, as they are equally forbidden in Lyons and Marseilles? Only on one condition could the Peace Conference presume to interfere in internal politics—if it does so all round, in Egypt, say, or Ireland, or in the Southern States of America where the negroes are terrorised from recording their votes. Hands off Russia therefore—until they are clean!

But even those who call on the Peace Conference to do its war-duty, no longer dare ask for military expeditions. They know that the peoples, so far from being ready to send fresh forces, are clamouring for the recall of their frozen troops, that we are ashamed of the French negroes in Odessa. The plan now put forward in *The Times* is to starve out the Bolsheviks, while encircling them with well-fed populations, the sight of whose pampered paunches would seduce them from the faith. It is like that ghastly story in Poe when the walls of a steel chamber close gradually upon their victim. Truly a Christian reply to "the horrors of Bolshevism"!

But whence comes this right to blockade Russia? When did we proclaim war on her? Why are we throwing her into the arms of Germany? A truce to this folly! Let us intervene in Russia not with arms or blockades, but with food and friendship! Let us leave Russia the right she has proclaimed for all—the right of self-determination.

NEW GERMANY.

The new German Government plainly shows that Germany is far from having accomplished the Socialist Revolution. Seven members of the new Government are Majority Socialists, "Social Patriots," as Liebknecht called them; four members belong to the Centre party and four are democrats: therefore, eight out of fifteen members—a clear majority is avowedly non-Socialist. Twenty-five thousand troops are stationed near where the new National Assembly is meeting at Weimar.

SPARTACUS AGAIN.

It is significant that, according to *The Times* "a wireless station is in working order, in case the telegraph lines should be cut or railway communications interrupted by Spartacists."

This shows that Spartacus is very much alive indeed. Another Spartacist Revolution seems to be approaching. On February 6th, the Spartacist workers of Hamburg seized the Town Hall and the banks. At Kiel Spartacist workers and sailors have occupied the aeroplane station and the police headquarters. At Altona, Itzehoe, Elmshom, Lübeck, and other places there have been similar incidents. There is serious fighting in Berlin.

AT ANY STRIKE.

They ranged in one dread line,
The order went;
Swift came the spurts of flame
And moaning wild:
Back rolled the smoke; light came
With red besprent:
They found, bathed in life's wine,
A pale-faced child.

L. A. M.

A Union for Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen.

By W. F. WATSON.

The sporadic revolts of the soldiers during the past few days clearly show that there is considerable unrest throughout the Army, due, in the main, to slowness of demobilisation and very bad travelling facilities for leave men. I am informed that the trouble at Victoria was far more serious than the casual observer is led to believe. The Guards were held in readiness, but for some reason or other were not called upon to quell the revolt, but they did escort the rebels to their camp.

At the Kempton Park, Camberwell, Battersea, and Chelsea Garages, the A.S.C. men have been on strike for three weeks, because they resent being used as conscript labour. Most of these men belong to their respective trade unions, and, naturally enough, they object to doing mechanics' work for bare soldiers' pay; so they are demanding complete discharge from the Army. There is also an agitation for a 40-hour week and increased pay amongst the mechanical units, and the rank and file of Army, Navy, and Air Force are demanding largely increased pay. All of which is evidence of the fact that the same economic forces which make the civilian worker discontented affect men in uniform, and that generally speaking the demands are much the same.

It was inevitable that the men in the various forces should start organising, and we are glad to learn that great headway is being made. For a long time past it has been made manifest that the National Federation of Discharged and Disabled Soldiers and Sailors does not adequately fill the bill: hence the formation of the Soldiers', Sailors', and Airmen's Union. It is intended that the Union shall embrace the rank and file of the three services, and although the demands put forward by the Union are by no means revolutionary, they deserve the backing of the Shop Stewards' Movement.

The happenings of the past few weeks should convince us of the possibilities of good organisation, and I look forward to the very near future, when the Shop Stewards, Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen will be linked together into Councils. I, therefore urge all men of the forces to join the Union at once. The General Secretary is Ex-Sergeant R. W. Stanhope, who, it will be remembered, was the chosen leader of the rank and file during the Folkestone rebellion, when the Fusiliers who were sent to quell the outburst were promptly disarmed by the strikers, and the office is S.S.A.U., 4a Illiffe Yard, Crampton Street, Walworth, S.E. The President is Capt. E. S. Donisthorpe. The soldiers' demands are:—

1. Any man who has employment awaiting him shall be entitled to release on the same terms whether the employer is the same as before August, 1914, or another.
2. All men on leave in England from overseas who are in possession of a contract to be demobilised immediately without returning overseas.
3. Demobilisation according to length of service, whether at home or overseas.
4. No discrimination in favour of married men.
5. All men over 41 to be automatically discharged at once.
6. In order to utilise to the full all available transport for demobilisation purposes, leave should only be granted in exceptional circumstances.
7. Men about to be demobilised to hand in their equipment at the nearest depot and receive a receipt. Demobilisation to be completed by post.
8. Men in the Army to be given the right to appoint representatives to act as advisers to the War Office on service matters affecting the welfare of the men—*e.g.*, demobilisation, pay, discipline, victualling, &c.—these representatives to be freely elected by the men.

Note.—Sympathisers with the above are urgently requested to assist by collecting funds whenever and wherever possible. Donations should be sent to the Secretary.

The Sailors, through their committees, have drawn up a programme which is briefly as follows:—

1. Better pay and pensions.
2. Recognition of their Union.
3. Right to appoint annually a Welfare Committee, elected from the rank and file by the rank and file, to advise the Admiralty, War Office, and the Ministry on all matters affecting the interests of the men of the Forces.

It is also intended, I am told, to link up with the soldiers and sailors of all other countries, which would easily prevent the League of Nations becoming a League of Capitalists.

The entrance fee is 1*s.* 6*d.* and the subscription 1*s.* per month. Men in the Services may join as honorary members, automatically becoming full members upon being discharged.

JOIN THE UNION AND PREVENT VICTIMISATION.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

SOERMUS.

Edward Sœrmus, the Russian Bolshevik violinist, who has been valiantly travelling through out the country in the service of the People's Revolution, was arrested in Merthyr the night before the Albert Hall meeting, and taken to Brixton Prison, his young wife and baby being left behind. He has been told that he is to be speedily deported. This is the second time that the authorities have threatened our comrade with deportation, but on the last occasion they did not arrest him.

Various questions arise. Why is the Government afraid to allow Sœrmus to remain in this country? Does it intend to deport him, or to keep him imprisoned here? If it decides to deport him will it also decide to make provision for his wife and child to accompany him? or will it force them to remain here destitute? Sœrmus is ready to endure any sacrifice for the people; but we should not rest content that our Government should treat the guests of the British workers in this way. Comrades, what are you going to do about it?

Will those anxious to help our Russian comrade and his wife and child kindly send donations to 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

THE ALBERT HALL MEETING.

The B.S.P., which organised the "Hands Off" Russia Meeting in the Albert Hall, in co-operation with a number of other societies, received more than 30,000 applications for tickets. The meeting was not quite full, because, owing to the traffic difficulties, some of those who had taken tickets did not attend, and because, though it had been arranged that seats would not be reserved for ticket holders after 7.15, the Albert Hall stewards refused to allow non-ticket holders to occupy any part of the hall save the top gallery, which was over-crowded.

The meeting was unpleasantly surprised to find that Sœrmus, who was to have played Russian revolutionary music was shut away in Brixton Prison. Cathal O'Shannon had gone to Berne. His place was taken by Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, who received a great reception. John MacLean was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm. Neil MacLean gave important news from the Clyde. He said that when the police baton charge started in George Square, David Kirkwood ran out of the City Hall in dismay, and raising his hands said: "Men!" As the press photographs showed he was then standing in the midst of police and was struck by an inspector's baton from behind. He fell unconscious to the ground.

Zangwill's speech was inimitable We reproduce it in full. The other speakers each did their part and the meeting was in every way a success, as far as a meeting can be when the necessity of the case is for action.

SOME OF SOVIET RUSSIA'S NEW PAPERS.

1. *Krasnaya Gazeta* (*Red Gazette*).—A daily paper, with morning and evening editions, published by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Delegates.

2. *Derevenskaya Kommuna* (*Village Commune*).—A daily paper, published in Petrograd by the Provincial Department of the Commissariat for Home Affairs of the Union of Northern Communes.

3. *Vooruzhennyi Narod* (*The Armed People*).—A daily military paper, published in Petrograd, organ of the Military Section of the Petrograd Soviet.

4. *Finansy e Narodnoe Vihosiaistivo* (*Finance and National Economy*). A daily organ of the Commissariat of Finance and of the Soviet of National Economy in the Northern District.

5. *Seviernaya Kommuna* (*The Northern Commune*), with a daily supplement *Prodovolstvie Severa* (*The Provisioning of the North*).—Published in Petrograd, organ of the Executive Committee of the Soviets of Peasants', Workers', and Red Army Delegates of the Northern District, and of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Delegates.

RUSSIAN NEWS.

We have received the following Russian news from The Peoples' Russian Information Bureau:—

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT:

Its Constructive Work.

Volksrecht (January 15th, 1919) states:—

"The Soviet Republic continues its efforts to build up culture with undiminished energy. Especially is it doing everything possible to improve the schools which are still so backward in Russia. The Commissariat for Popular Enlightenment in the Northern Commune has decreed that no child is to be refused admission into a school. If there are too many applications, the Commissariat must be informed, whereupon the children are to be distributed amongst other schools, or, in case of need, new schools are to be opened.

"The health resort, Sestorezt, and the villages Alexandrovsk, Taregovka, and Rasliv, have been put at the disposal of the Commissariat for Popular Enlightenment and the Health Commissariat. It is intended to erect there orphanages and sanatoria for tuberculous, scrofulous, and rickety children, and for Petrograd workers. Everything possible is being done to improve the food supply. In Northern Russia more than 9,000 co-operative consumers' societies are now functioning, including nearly 300 dairies, 1,000 co-operative credit societies, fisheries, agricultural societies, &c. In order to relieve the salt scarcity in Northern Russia, the Economic Commissariat has caused the working of the salt mines of Stara Russia to be again taken in hand, which in the eighteen sixties yielded half a million pood annually, but which have been quite disused for some years. The Moscow Peoples' Bank has been nationalised and united to the Peoples' Bank of the Soviet Republic. The capital is to be liquidated by dividing all the share capital among the shareholders. The management is to be transformed into a co-operative and is to be subject to the control of the Soviet power. It is stated by the Chief Commissary for military schools that a General Staff Academy is to be opened, where comrades with military talent are to be trained in strategy, the best military specialists and tacticians being engaged as lecturers at the Academy. The number of students exceeds a hundred."

POLISH MASSACRE OF RUSSIAN RED CROSS MISSION.

Volksrecht reports that the Russian Soviet Government has sent to the Central Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva the following protest against the massacre of the Red Cross Mission in Poland:—

The Government of the Russian Soviet Republic appeals to the Central Committee of the International Red Cross and to all the Red Cross Committees, and draws their attention to the frightful crime committed by the present Polish Government against the delegates of the Russian Red Cross, staying in Poland to assist the Russian prisoners of war who were passing through. Without cause, and in defiance of the most elementary rules governing the relationship of peoples, the delegation was thrown into the Warsaw citadel. On December 30th its members were dragged by the gendarmes and soldiers of the present Polish Government to the frontier of the County of Grodno, led into a wood near the village of Menia in the Bielsk district, and there massacred. Comrades Veselovski, Dr. Klotzmann, Marie Alter, and Ayvasova were shot; the fifth member of the delegation, the son of Comrade Alter, was wounded, and Pilsudski's assassins thought he was dead. But he succeeded in escaping and finding refuge at Minsk.

The Government of Soviet Russia demands immediate and complete reparation for this shameful crime. It addresses to the International Red Cross, and the Red Cross of every country, a protest against this unparalleled deed of violence to which the Russian Red Cross delegates have fallen victims, and begs for International Red Cross support in the demand for reparation.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs:

TCHICHERINE.

ROME PRINTERS' STRIKE.

Rome, February 8th.—All compositors have gone on strike, demanding an eight-hours day. As a result, only the *Popolo Romano* appeared this morning, while this evening only the *Avanti* and the *Giornale del Popolo*, both Socialist journals, w be published.—*Reuter.*

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.
Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14th.
The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY, 15th.
Tottenham.—Meet at 3 P.M. at the corner of West Green Road and High Road. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and others.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., John Syme.
The Grove, Hammersmith, 11.45 A.M.—Miss Price.
Club Row, Bethnal Green.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY, 18th.
Armagh Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.
Outside Mansfield Hotel, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22nd.
Great Push in Holloway District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17th.
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18th.
Congregational Schoolrooms, Barking L.P. (Women's Section).—3 P.M., Miss Horsfall, 'The Work of the W.S.F.'
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20th.
20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F.) Study Circle.—8 P.M., Mr. Edmunds, 'Marxian Economics.'
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.
400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting (London Section).
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd.
400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Mr. Saklatvala, 'India and Western Democracies.' Chair: Miss N. Smyth. Discussion.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Edward Fuller, 'Sex and Social Liberty.'

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Miss Agnes Hardie (Fair), £1 1s.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Miss L. Isaacs, £1; Mr. Baris Sarna, 11s. COLLECTIONS.—Poplar W.S.F., 4s. 4d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Miss Udny (monthly), £4 5s. 6d.; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2; per Miss J. C. Weir (monthly), £1; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Miss Burgis (sale of clo s), 7s. 6d.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), F D. Wilkie, Esq. (month' , 2s. 6d.

CHILDREN'S C THES.—Miss C. .

FED RATION NOTES.

At the last General Members' Meeting it was decided to hold these monthly meetings on the third Friday in the month, alternately in the centre of London and at 400 Old Ford Road. Next meeting February 21st, will be held at 1 Kingly Street, Regent Street (behind Robinson & Cleavers), at 8 P.M. I shall be glad to receive subscriptions which are due and the 1*s.* yearly subscription to the special Headquarters' Fund from all members who have not yet sent it. We are urgently needing funds. More DREADNOUGHT and literature sellers are needed at meetings, outdoor and indoor, and clerical help will be welcomed here and at 152 Fleet Street. Members who have not had our recent literature should get it at once.—NORAH L. SMYTH, *Hon. Treasurer.*

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

AGENTS WANTED FOR THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.'—Are you a regular reader of the paper? Do you sell it at the meetings of your organisation? Introduce it to your workshop.

VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT.—15s. a week to every child in our midst as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, and £1 a week for everyone at 60.
MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

SOCIALISTS OF CROYDON, Your First New Year's Resolution for 1919 should be to send 2/- (½d. stamps) for 24 weeks prepaid subscription to Croydon's Own Socialist Weekly, THE EPISTLE, Offices, 112 Woodville Road, Thornton Heath.

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THE GEORGE SQUARE OUTRAGE.

Our readers who have all seen many capitalist press comments on the attack made upon the strikers in George Square, January 31st, will be glad to read the further comments of the Glasgow *Strike Bulletin*:—

THE GEORGE SQUARE MASSACRE.

"The authorities are alone responsible for the row in Glasgow on Friday. The strikers repudiate all responsibility for what occurred. If the police had not attacked the crowd in George Square the Demonstration would have passed off quietly, as did former Demonstrations.

"The attack by the police was carefully planned. Of this there can be no doubt, in view of what happened. The strikers went to George Square for a peaceable purpose, which was to hear the reply of the Government to the Lord Provost's own appeal for intervention. The Lord Provost was not asked to appeal: he offered to make the inquiry, and his offer was accepted by the strikers in good faith, who agreed to appear at the City Chambers at noon to learn the result.

"The deputation appointed by the strikers to meet the Lord Provost arrived in the City Chambers at the hour arranged for, but were not allowed to see him. While they were kept waiting, it is assumed the Lord Provost, the Town Clerk, the Chief Constable, and Sheriff Mackenzie were in conference, and they, it is believed, were responsible for the decision to read the Riot Act as the legal pretext for dispelling the crowd by force.

"The Magistrates were hurriedly summoned by telephone to attend a meeting in the City Chambers, at 11.30 A.M., on Friday, but it is not known that they approved of the decision to enforce the Riot Act. *It is true, however, after the Act had been read and the crowd attacked, another meeting was held at which a minority of the Magistrates wanted the military called out to disperse the people*—by guns and bayonets, we presume. In the evening a great number of troops were drafted into the city fully armed with machine guns and wearing steel helmets. A detachment is posted on a position commanding the Glasgow Green.

"All this brutality and display of force simply because the workers ask for a 40 hours' week!

"We know all about the plot to smash the Demonstration, and will reveal it in due course. Meanwhile, do not forget that the large force of police on duty in George Square *knew* batons were to be used, and were prepared for action. One policeman warned a friend to keep away from the Square as there was *going to be trouble*....

"The effect of the George Square massacre is to strengthen the strike. More men have left work since the outrage took place.

"Maryhill Strike Committee report that one of the victims of the police outrage in George Square was a boy of 14, who had his head smashed in by a blow from a Hooligan in uniform. A discharged and lame soldier was also laid out.

"The authorities are deluding the soldiers if they inform them that the strikers are keeping back demobilisation. The strikers are fighting for the soldiers, and have given up their work to help to make jobs for the men coming back from the war. Further, the strikers want the soldiers discharged and not demobilised....

"It is reported to us that all the policemen did not use their batons when ordered to attack the crowd, and it is alleged a number of them downed truncheons in sympathy with the strikers. All honour to these men, whose hearts proved stronger than Prussianism.

"During the George Square battle the soldier spectators, it is reported, were commandeered by the police in "the name of the King," taken to the City Chambers, and there supplied with full equipment in view of further action. This was stated by one of the soldiers involved to a meeting of strikers in the Gorbals.

"A woman, who was attending to a boy who had been smashed by a policeman in George Square, states that when the boy was lying helpless he was given a second blow, although blood was flowing freely from a wound on his head."

PROTESTS AGAINST BRUTALITY.

The Scottish Trades Union Congress on February 1st resolved:—

"That this Congress protests in the strongest language against the authorities and the police in their brutal attack on the people, who had met to hear the reply from the Lord Provost; that they hold them responsible for what took place; and that the Congress demands the immediate release of Councillor Shinwell, William Gallacher, and David Kirkwood."

Glasgow No. 2 Branch of the Boilermakers' Society have resolved:—

"That we, the members of Glasgow No. 2 Branch, do hereby strongly protest against the pre-arranged action of the authorities in reading the Riot Act, and the injuries inflicted on men, women, and children on account of the employers having broken the agreement of December 24th, 1918. We call upon our fellow-workers to stand solid for a 40-hour week without reduction in time, piece, and lieu wages.'

Upwards of a thousand other organisations have sent similar resolutions. What the workers must do, however, is to take the power of Government into their own hands! Thus they will be able to prevent, instead of merely protesting against, such incidents.

BLACKLEG MEETINGS.

At a meeting of "loyal workmen (?)" against the strike held at Whiteinch the principle speakers were a parson, a meat salesman, and a lawyer. A Govan meeting convened for "loyal workmen" against the strike passed a resolution in favour of the strike. The same thing happened at Dumbarton.

At Paisley, Johnstone, and Barrhead the managers of the Palladium, Western Picture House, and Rink grant their halls free of charge to the strikers. At Govan the Picture House which was taken from the strikers by the police has been returned.

The Dumbarton Town Band gives a daily concert to the strikers.

Glasgow pawnbrokers have agreed to boycott strikers by refusing to make loans on their goods. *The Strike Bulletin* hails this threat as a proof that the 40-hour week would reduce poverty and unemployment and thus lessen the need for pawning.

The Employment Exchanges have been sending unemployed brass moulders to the firms where the moulders are on strike. Every one knows that if an unemployed person is offered work through the Exchange and refuses it, unemployment benefit is stopped. The Court of Referees decided, however, that the brass moulders must not be sent where there is a dispute, because the brass moulders organisation has recognised the strike as official.

LEANEY'S LTD.,
WHOLESALE NEWSAGENTS.
City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought
9 and 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4.
(Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.)

Printed by J. R. Francis, 11 and 18 Bream's Buildings, London, E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.